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# THE WORLD PLAN OF THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION FOR A DURABLE PEACE

By MRS. FANNIE FERN ANDREWS

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(The reader will find added interest in this account of one of the larger international peace organizations, if it is read with reference to the article by Senator La Fontaine, of Belgium, entitled "An Appeal for a United Pacifism," appearing in our July number.—Editor's Note.)

OF ALL the efforts designed to place the nations on a permanent basis of international order, the Central Organization for a Durable Peace stands out most prominently. This was formed by the international confidential meeting at The Hague in April, 1915, when thirty international jurists, statesmen, economists, and publicists from Germany, Belgium, England, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and the United States came together to discuss the basis of a durable peace.

This remarkable group, represented by belligerents and neutrals, stipulated that their deliberations should not be concerned with the present war, and further determined that the names of the members should be held confidential, and that the sessions should not be open to the press. It was only under these conditions, in fact, that the belligerent members were willing to take part in a conference while their respective nations were at war. The wisdom of these rules is apparent. The confidential character of the meeting rendered discussion free and unembarrassed by fear of unwise publicity. It was only after the close of the meeting that the eager press learned the conclusions which were summed up in what was called the minimum-program. The names of the participants were still held confidential. As the minimum-program, however, began to influence the minds of thinkers beyond the countries represented in the confidential meeting, and national groups of the Central Organization for a Durable Peace became established, the international executive committee voted to publish the names of that committee, and also the names of those who are actively engaged in promoting the plans of the Central Organization. The objects, program, and personnel of this unique organization are now given to the public with a plea for united support.

The Central Organization for a Durable Peace is inspired by the conviction that the fundamental basis of a new world order which must come after the present war must be laid today, and it offers the minimum-program "as a foundation for common action." The nine points of this program were drawn up with the view of meeting the practical situation after the war. The establishment of a durable peace involves two steps: (1) the settlement of immediate questions, those touching the political, financial, and territorial situation, and (2) the re-establishment and the strengthening of international law.

In the congress that will assemble to draw up the terms of peace there will probably be a limited number of States, for it is natural that the people who have carried the heavy burden of the war will reserve to them-

selves the right to regulate the settlement of immediate questions. In order that this settlement, however, may not result in a mere armistice, having in it the seeds of future war, it must adhere to certain principles. The minimum-program points out two safeguards. It calls attention, first, to the principle of nationality. The Central Organization for a Durable Peace recognizes that the political frontiers in Europe, coinciding only rarely with the limits of nationalities, are a constant cause of war. It does not attempt to regulate these conditions, which are the result of an historical evolution, but it urges that whatever may be the issue of the war, the number of such cases may not be augmented by the next treaty of peace. The second safeguard is the insistence that States shall introduce in their colonies protectorates and spheres of influence, liberty of commerce, or at least equal treatment for all nations. In this domain we find a fruitful source of conflict, and it is incumbent upon any congress which bases its settlement on the principles of a durable peace to deal with this branch of economic rivalry because of its potency in creating dangerous oppositions, and thereby provoking wars.

So far, then, the minimum-program concerns the peace-settlement congress, and it is not amiss to mention that it is merely laying down principles which it considers most fundamental. It might with great propriety include the consideration of other problems that will face the congress when it begins to fix the conditions of peace. The obligation implied in guarantees of neutrality, the rights of invading armies and of civilian populations in occupied territory, the treatment of prisoners of war, reprisals, war zones, the arming of merchantmen, the rules of submarine warfare, the law of blockade and contraband—all these matters, and many others also, will come up for consideration.

The program of the Central Organization for a Durable Peace anticipates the calling of two assemblies—a comparatively small body to draw up the terms of peace as just described, and a large body representative of all civilized States to deal with the re-establishment and strengthening of international law. It is evident that the matters mentioned above concern the whole body of civilized States, since there can be no permanent settlement of some of the questions which immediately concern the belligerents until many world questions of international law are satisfactorily dealt with. In this connection, the problem of armaments and the freedom of the sea are especially urged for present consideration.

It is necessary to organize peace if it is to be durable. The program proposes, in addition to the Hague Court of Arbitration, a Court of Justice, a Council of Investigation and Conciliation, and the permanent organization of The Hague Conference. Thus no entirely new institution is included in the plan. The Hague Court of Arbitration presents a successful record of fifteen

cases since its organization in 1902. The Second Hague Conference voted by a large majority the project of an International Court of Justice, although, as is well known, it failed to realize on account of the difficulties incident to the problem of its composition. The idea of a Council of Investigation and Conciliation for dealing with non-justiciable questions—those, indeed, which are most likely to lead to war—has developed from the commission of inquiry established by the First Hague Conference. Finally, to look forward to the development of the Hague Conference into an international assembly, meeting periodically to formulate and codify rules of international law, coincides with the spirit of the Second Hague Conference in providing for the calling of the third.

Besides urging the consideration of those principles of durable peace which should govern the peace-settlement congress, and the plan for international organization, the Central Organization for a Durable Peace believes that the stability of peace will never be maintained wholly through measures of international order. In speaking of the limitations of international law, Mr. Root said: "Law cannot control national policy, and it is through the working of long-continued and persistent national policies that the present war has come. Against such policies all attempts at conciliation and good understanding and good will among the nations of Europe have been powerless." The program mentions two measures in this domain which are especially indispensable: (1) the guarantee to the national minorities of civil equality, religious liberty, and the free use of their native languages; (2) the parliamentary control of foreign politics with interdiction of all secret treaties.

The most striking part of the minimum-program, and that which offers a great departure from present international procedure, is the provision for an international treaty, binding States to refer their disputes to an arbitral or judicial tribunal or to the Council of Investigation and Conciliation, and further to use concerted diplomatic, economic, and military pressure against any State that breaks the treaty. According to this plan, we find developed a World League of Peace, which, if supported by a strong public opinion, can come into existence through the action of the world congress to convene after the war. This should be called through the machinery of the Hague Conference. The organization of this League of Peace should not be deferred until all States are willing to sign the treaty. When a number of States of sufficient importance to make the league effective become signatories, it should be declared organized. But the league should always remain open; it ought, above all, to avoid the character of a political alliance; it ought to be, and ought always to remain, a League of Peace.

The aim of the Central Organization for a Durable Peace is to form national groups in all countries to make a technical study of the proposals laid down in the minimum-program. Nine research committees have been organized, representing the nine points of the minimum-program. Some thirty-five research studies, including nine prepared by members of the American committee, have already been published. These are now used by the various national groups as a basis of technical study and discussion, and, after final editing, they are to be sent to the governments of the world.

In estimating the importance of this work, one has only to mention the names of those who are taking part in it. Among those who have prepared research studies are Dr. W. H. de Beaufort, Ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs; General De Meester, and Ex-Prime Minister Heemskerk, of Holland; Ex-Minister Adelswärd, of Sweden; Prof. Dr. H. Lammasch, Member of the International Court of Arbitration, and Dr. Alfred H. Fried, of Austria; G. Lowes Dickinson, Arthur Ponsonby, Charles Roden Buxton, Dr. J. T. Lawrence, and John A. Hobson, of England; Prof. João Cabral, of Brazil; Professor Altamira, of Spain; Halvden Koht and Chr. L. Lange, of Norway; Professor Michels, of Italy; Professor Stauning, of Denmark; Prof. André Mercier, of Switzerland, and Prof. Dr. W. Schücking and Dr. Hans Wehberg, of Germany, not to mention our own distinguished group.

Through these study groups, which now represent twenty-six nations, this organization is building up a united support of the underlying principles of equitable law, and is thereby destined to become a world factor in influencing the great settlement. The effort demands the support of the world. The people of one nation alone, or of a group of nations, cannot effect a new world order; it is a task for the civilized world. The work of the Central Organization for a Durable Peace may be described as a simultaneous world study to prepare for action at the supreme moment of the world's history which we shall witness after the war. This moment will call for high statesmanship—a statesmanship freed from bias, resting its action on legal principles, and motivated by the desire to establish the eternal laws of justice and humanity.

## THE NEUTRAL CONFERENCE FOR CONTINUOUS MEDIATION AT STOCKHOLM

By LOUIS LOCHNER

(The following is a condensation of a report submitted by Mr. Lochner, and is published at his request.)

### *Organization.*

At the first informal meeting of the Neutral Conference on February 10, 1916, only the American and Swedish representatives were present. By February 15 representatives of Denmark and Norway had also arrived. On February 28 came the Swiss, and the Dutch on March 3. Continuous meetings were then held until April 15, when the final draft of an appeal to governments, parliaments, and peoples of the belligerent nations was completed and given to the public.

### *The Appeals to Neutrals and Belligerents.*

From the very beginning the members of the conference deemed one of their most important duties to be that of urging constantly upon the neutral governments the desirability of joint mediation. An appeal to the neutral nations represented at the Second Hague Conference, importuning them to call an official neutral conference, was therefore drafted and completed by the